

states allow the terrorists."⁸² He even recommended using indiscriminate terrorism against the populations of those Arab countries that provide the PLO with financial, political, and military support.⁸³

Kahane's espousal of brutal Jewish counterterrorism had not changed much over the years, and in his latest book he vowed to establish, upon assuming the leadership of Israel, special Jewish anti-terror groups that would operate all over the world and help Jews wherever there is trouble, disregarding the local authorities and their laws. Since the government of Israel was not receptive to his notions, Kahane's followers and other individuals inspired by his idea soon started to act on their own. Out of fear of the Israeli police and secret services, they did not try to establish a permanent terror organization, but rather engaged in occasional anti-Arab atrocities, using the symbol of T.N.T.⁸⁴

Kahane's devotees were actively involved in the intensification of the conflict between Jews and Arabs in Hebron in the 1970s. Yossi Dayan, a student of Kahane and later the secretary-general of Kach, has been caught and arrested several times for provoking Arabs in the Cave of the Patriarchs. In an interview he once said, "I have had more trials than the number of stars on the American flag."⁸⁵ Before the recent Arab uprising, which changed all the rules of public conduct in the West Bank, it was usually Kahane's followers who acted in response to Arab attacks, although by the middle of the 1980s such pretexts as acting only in reaction to Arab violence seemed decreasingly necessary. Craig Leitner, a Kahane student, described a typical mid-1980s operation:

One day towards the end of July 1984, I agreed with Mike Gozovsky and Yehuda Richter to operate against the Arabs. We left Kiryat Arba in a hired car, headed towards Jerusalem. . . . That night around 23:00, we went to the Neve Yaakov area. Yehuda was driving. Around midnight, we saw an Arab in his twenties walking along the road. I said, "Let's stop the car." I went out and hit the Arab with my fist on the shoulder. I also kicked him. He escaped into the night. We continued to Hebron and it was decided—I don't remember by whom—to burn Arab cars. We had in our car two plastic bottles containing four and a half liters of gasoline. In Hebron, Yehuda stopped the car. Mike took the gasoline and poured it under several cars, maybe three. After Yehuda set the cars afire, we moved, not waiting to see what would happen. There were dogs around and I was afraid that they would wake up the neighbors, or perhaps bite us and we would get rabies.⁸⁶

Leitner and his friends later fired on an Arab bus, wounding several passengers. When asked for his reaction to their activities, Kahane expressed total approval. He said that he was sorry that they would have to spend years in prison, and added that, in his eyes, they were Maccabees. Later, Kahane placed Yehuda Richter, the main suspect in the operation, as number two on his list for the Knesset. Had Kach won two seats in 1984, Richter would have been released from prison, due to the immunity of Israel's Knesset members. Richter was also known as the commander of the "suicide

squad" in the shelter at Yamit. When asked once by a journalist whether he would be willing to instruct his followers not to hit innocent Arabs who happened to be near a terror attack, Kahane responded, "No, I would not. As long as they are here we are lost. I have no way of knowing if this Arab or another is innocent. The real danger is the demographics."¹⁷

Kach's most aggressive local stronghold has always been Kiryat Arba. Activists such as Yossi Dayan, Eli Haze'ev (who was killed in the 1980 PLO attack on the Yeshiva students by the Beir Hadassah in Hebron), Baruch Marzel, and Shmuel Ben-Yishai have initiated countless violent operations against the local Arabs since the mid-1970s. Unlike Rabbi Levinger and Elyakim Haetzni, who have said all along that they are interested in peaceful coexistence with the native residents, Kach people have never concealed their hope for a massive emigration. The only reason for their relative restraint has been their fear of the army.

In 1986, they established the Committee for the Preservation of Security, whose stated purpose was to patrol the roads in the area against rock-throwers. But during the *intifada*, the committee became a most aggressive vigilante group. Its notorious commander, Shmuel Ben-Yishai, publicly declared that any incident involving harassment of Jewish traffic would make him shoot to kill without warning.

I do not shoot in the air, I shoot to kill. . . . It is stupid to fire the entire magazine in the air! Only the Jews speak about the "purity of the arms." Just a minute! Listen who is talking about morality: Shamir, the biggest terrorist? Rabin, who killed Jews on Altalena? The Americans, who murdered the Indians?¹⁸

Kach was violent long before the recent Palestinian uprising. Its entire posture—the yellow shirts with the black clenched fists, the attacks on Arab families within the Green Line who move into Jewish neighborhoods, the chasing of innocent Arab workers for the fun of it, the anti-Arab "victory parades," the attempts to break up leftist meetings in a style reminiscent of the Italian fascists of the 1920s—have all spelled out hooliganism and violence. But the 1988 Palestinian uprising prompted Kach to expand its activities. Kach's recent operations, which have already caused the death of several Arabs, indicate that its main activists are certain that the decisive battle for Eretz Yisrael has already started.

Xenophobia, Social Darwinism, and Racist Symbolism

Kahane's anti-Arab strain has already been discussed. Even as a political stand, it is profoundly radical and exceptional in Israeli terms. Almost no one else came up with such a blunt proposition for mass Arab expulsion and for systematic discrimination against the remaining Arab residents. Kahane's